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TELEGRAM

P 160009Z NOV 71
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SALT VI PRIORITY 1776
BT
T O P S E C R E T STATE 208068

4027Q

November 15, 7:09 PM 1971

NODIS SALT

SUBJECT: INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS
AT VIENNA (SALT VI)

THERE FOLLOWS THE TEXT OF INSTRUCTION DATED NOVEMBER 15
ON THE ABOVE SUBJECT.

" THE PRESIDENT HAS MADE THE FOLLOWING DECISIONS FOR VIENNA
(SALT VI):

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE
INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

1. THE BASIC U S POSITION IS UNCHANGED.
2. THE DELEGATION SHOULD INITIALLY CONCENTRATE ITS PRESENTATION
AND DISCUSSION ON OFFENSIVE LIMITATIONS
AND SHOULD INSIST THE SOVIETS DO THE SAME.
THIS INITIAL EMPHASIS SHOULD FOCUS ON ESTABLISHING THAT
THERE WILL BE AN OVERALL ICBM FREEZE, WITH A SUB-
LIMIT ON MODERN LARGE BALLISTIC MISSILES AND A PRECISE
UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT IS ALLOWED UNDER MODERNIZATION AND
REPLACEMENT. AS FOR SUBMARINE- LAUNCHED BALLISTIC MISSILES
(SLBMS), THE DELEGATION SHOULD MAKE A STRONG EFFORT TO NEGOTIATE
THEIR INCLUSION IN ANY INTERIM OFFENSIVE AGREEMENT.
IF IT APPEARS THAT THIS OBJECTIVE CAN BE ACHIEVED ONLY BY
MODIFICATION OF THE PRESENT U S PROPOSAL REGARDING
SLBMS, THE DELEGATION SHOULD RECOMMEND ALTERNATIVES
FOR PRESIDENTIAL DECISION.
3. THE DELEGATION SHOULD INITIATE AN AD REFERENDUM PROCEDURE
TO PREPARE A JOINT DRAFT TEXT OF AN AGREEMENT ON OFFENSIVE
LIMITATIONS.
4. OUR PRESENT ABM PROPOSAL REGARDING THE NUMBER OF SITES AND
LAUNCHERS: INTERCEPTORS IS UNCHANGED. THE DELEGATION SHOULD
MAKE CLEAR TO THE SOVIETS THAT THERE ARE NO ALTERNATIVES TO
THIS PROPOSAL. ACCORDINGLY, EXPLORATION OF OTHER
ALTERNATIVES IS NOT AUTHORIZED AT THIS TIME. HOWEVER, WITH
REGARD TO RADARS AND GEOGRAPHIC LIMITATIONS, THE

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NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

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-2- STATE 208068, November 15, 1971

DELEGATION IS AUTHORIZED TO CONTINUE EXPLORATIONS
AND TO RECOMMEND ALTERNATIVES FOR PRESIDENTIAL DECISION.

5. THE CHAIRMAN OF THE DELEGATION IS DIRECTED TO PROVIDE THE FOLLOWING INTERPRETATION OF THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF CHOICE BETWEEN THE TWO ABM ALTERNATIVES IN ARTICLE 3 OF THE U S DRAFT DEFENSIVE AGREEMENT. FIRST, THE U S. AND THE U S S R. MUST INDICATE CLEARLY THEIR INITIAL CHOICE OF AN ABM DEPLOYMENT BEFORE THE NEGOTIATIONS ON ABM SYSTEMS ARE COMPLETED OR AN AGREEMENT IS INITIALED. (AT THE TIME FOR SELECTION, THE SOVIET DELEGATION SHOULD BE INFORMED THAT THE INITIAL U S CHOICE IS A DEPLOYMENT AT ICBM FIELDS). SECOND, THE U S PROPOSES THAT, AFTER A MUTUALLY AGREED TIME FROM THE EFFECTIVE DATE OF THE DEFENSIVE AGREEMENT, EITHER SIDE WOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO CHANGE ITS ABM DEPLOYMENT (WITHIN THE LIMITS OF ARTICLE 3), SUBJECT TO DESTRUCTION PROCEDURES WHICH NEED NOT BE AGREED UPON PRIOR TO CONCLUSION OF THE AGREEMENT BUT WHICH MUST BE MUTUALLY AGREED UPON PRIOR TO THE SWITCH.

6. ON ISSUES OTHER THAN THOSE DISCUSSED ABOVE, THE DELEGATION SHOULD CONTINUE TO SEEK TO NARROW THE U S- U S S R DIFFERENCES IN THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT ON AN AD REFERENDUM BASIS. THE INTERAGENCY PAPER " SOME OUT- STANDING ISSUES AT SALT AND POSSIBLE NEGOTIATING EXCHANGES," DATED OCTOBER 27, 1971, CAN SERVE AS A GUIDE TO RESOLVING THE ISSUES IT DISCUSSED.

7. THE NEED FOR AVOIDING LEAKS REMAINS PARTICULARLY COMPELLING. THE PRESIDENT'S DIRECTIVE OF OCTOBER 31, 1969, ENTITLED " AVOIDANCE OF LEAKS ON SALT," IS AGAIN REAFFIRMED. UNQUOTE. END TEXT
GP-1. ROGERS
BT

Drafted by: Text received from White House
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